

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-09 IO-10 ACDA-05 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00

NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

SAJ-01 SAM-01 CU-02 NIC-01 EB-07 STR-01 TRSE-00

COME-00 SAB-01 OES-03 ERDA-05 ERDE-00 /097 W

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8283

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

USMISSION USUN

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 3655

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GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, PARM

SUBJ: BREZHNEV'S SPEECH IN BUDAPEST

1. SUMMARY. BREZHNEV'S SPEECH IN BUDAPEST STRIKES US AS A REASONED, CALM, CONCILIATORY DEFENSE OF IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE WEST. HE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE U.S., AND AVOIDED CONTENTIOUS LANGUAGE ON THE MIDDLE EAST. HE PROVIDED A GLIMPSE OF SOVIET POST-CSCE POLICY, CLAIMING THAT ARMS REDUCTIONS IN SALT TWO AND MBFR WILL BE HIGH ON THE SOVIET PRIORITY LIST. HIS SPEECH CONFIRMS OTHER INDICATIONS WE HAVE HAD THAT SOVIET LINE ON THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM WILL BE CONCILIATORY IN THE WEST AND WILL EMPHASIZE SOCIALIST SOLIDARITY IN THE EAST. END SUMMARY.

2. THE GENERAL TONE OF BREZHNEV'S SPEECH WAS CLEARLY AIMED AT PROJECTING A CONCILIATORY IMAGE AND PROMOTING A FURTHERANCE OF SOVIET "PEACE POLICY." HE CHECKED OFF THE SUCCESSES OF THIS POLICY, AND POINTED THE WAY TOWARD FUTURE ACTIONS. WHILE CAREFUL TO POINT OUT THAT OPPONENTS OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE STILL MUST BE RECKONED WITH, HE STATED "WITH SATISFACTION" THAT "AS A WHOLE" THE RELATIONS OF THE USSR AND MOST OTHER "SOCIALIST STATES" WITH THE MAIN CAPITALIST GOVERNMENTS ARE "MORE OR LESS" MOVING ON TO A NORMAL COURSE IN LINE WITH THE CONCEPT OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE.

3. HE STRESSED THE "SERIOUS ATTENTION" BEING DEVOTED BY THE USSR AND THE SOCIALIST STATES TO STRENGTHENING RELATIONS WITH THE U.S., EXPLAINING THAT THE STATE OF THE RELATIONS IS AN IMPORTANT DETERMINANT OF EASTWEST RELATIONS IN GENERAL. BUT HE HAS LITTLE ELSE TO SAY ABOUT THE U.S. HE DID NOT LAMBASTE US FOR THE TRADE BILL, NOR DID HE MENTION ANY OTHER BONE OF CONTENTION BETWEEN MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON.

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4. BREZHNEV EMPLOYED THE STANDARD FORMULATIONS REGARDING THE MIDDLE EAST. HE DID NOT MENTION THE SECRETARY'S CURRENT TRAVELS, NOR DID HE ATTACK THE PARTIAL STEP APPROACH. RECONVENING OF THE MEPC, HE SAID, WOULD BE THE "SUREST WAY" TO A SOLUTION.

5. BREZHNEV WAS UNUSUALLY OPTIMISTIC IN STATING SUCH

PRINCIPLES AS THE NON-USE OF FORCE, INVIOABILITY OF BORDERS, NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENTS TO PROBLEMS, REGULAR POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS, INTENSIVE LONG-TERM ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND EXCHANGE OF CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC ACHIEVEMENTS ARE BECOMING MORE AND MORE OFTEN THE RULES OF INTERNATIONAL INTERCOURSE, REGARDLESS OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEM OF THE STATES CONCERNED.

6. HE TIES THE GROWING ACCEPTANCE OF THESE RULES OF CONDUCT TO CSCE, AND WELCOMES THE "INCLINATION" OF MOST OTHER PARTICIPANTS IN CSCE TO WORK FOR ITS COMPLETION AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS. THIS ATTITUDE, HE SAID, IS A "GRATIFYING CHANGE FOR THE BETTER." AT THE SAME TIME, HE WARNED THAT THOSE WHO STUBBORNLY BLOCK COMPLETION OF THE CONFERENCE TAKE ON AN EVER GRAVER RESPONSIBILITY.

7. ALSO PERHAPS SIGNIFICANT THAT BREZHNEV NAMED ARMS REDUCTIONS, NOT JUST LIMITATIONS, AS ONE OF THE FIRST TASKS TO BE TACKLED AFTER COMPLETION OF THE CONFERENCE. HE WARNED THAT REDUCTIONS WOULD HAVE TO BE ACHIEVED ON A GRADUAL BASIS, BUT POINTED TO MBFR AND SALT TWO AS PROOF THAT EFFORTS ARE ALREADY UNDERWAY IN THIS REGARD.

8. BREZHNEV STATED THAT WHILE THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM HAS EMBOLDENED THE SUPPORTERS OF ARMS RACES AND THE COLD WAR AND INCREASED VIGILANCE WILL CONSEQUENTLY BE NECESSARY, THE MAIN TASK IS THE NEED TO "BROADEN THE HORIZONS OF THE PEACE POLICY" TO COMBAT THE DANGERS WHICH THE CRISIS CAN CAUSE. THIS SEEMS TO US TO BE ANOTHER OF A SERIES OF CLEAR INDICATIONS THAT THE SOVIETS ARE CURRENTLY NOT INCLINED

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TO FISH IN TROUBLED WESTERN ECONOMIC WATERS.

9. BREZHNEV BASES HIS CONFIDENCE IN FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS ON THE "UNITY OF THE SOCIALIST BLOC" -- A CLEAR SIGNAL THAT NO ATTEMPTS FROM THE WEST TO DISTURB THIS UNITY (AN EVENTUALITY HE WARNS AGAINST) WILL BE BROOKED.

10. TAKEN ALL IN ALL, BREZHNEV'S SPEECH IS THE MOST FORWARD LOOKING, AUTHORITATIVE SOVIET STATEMENT ON THE NECESSITY FOR CONTINUED DETENTE SINCE THE EUPHORIA WHICH FOLLOWED THE VLADIVOSTOK MEETING GAVE WAY TO MORE SOMBER TONE OF SOVIET PRONOUNCEMENTS FOLLOWING THEIR REFUSAL TO ACCEDE TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE TRADE ACT. GIVEN CURRENT SOVIET POLICIES AND

PREDILECTIONS, IT COULD HARDLY HAVE BEEN MORE FORTH-
COMING OR, INDEED, ENCOURAGING FROM THAT POINT
OF VIEW.

11. BREZHNEV IS NO DEMOSTHENES AND HIS DELIVERY WAS
TEPID AT BEST. HE ALSO SUFFERED FROM HIS USUAL
PROBLEMS OF ELOCUTION. HOWEVER, HE SEEMED IN GOOD
HEALTH AND HIS APPEARANCE SEEMED UNCHANGED FROM HIS
MID-FEBRUARY SPEECH DURING VISIT OF UK PRIME MINISTER
WILSON.
SOTESSEL

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